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MAO'S DEATH -- SOME ASSESSMENTS
(INSERTS IN LIBRARY)

ANNCR:

MOST AMERICAN AUTHORITIES ARE VERY CAUTIOUS ABOUT ASSESSING THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF MAO TSE-TUNG'S DEATH. IN A BRIEF EARLY REACTION TO THE NEWS, SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER SAID THE OUTLOOK FOR SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS SIMPLY IS NOT CLEAR.

TAPE: CUT ONE -- KISSINGER

"I DON'T THINK EVEN THE CHINESE KNOW WHAT THE IMPACT OF THE DEATH OF SUCH A TREMENDOUS FIGURE WOULD BE FOR THEM, AND I DON'T THINK ANY OF US KNOWS WHAT THE NEW CHINESE LEADERS WILL DO PRECISELY. I WOULD THINK THAT INTERESTS HAVING BROUGHT US TOGETHER, COMMON INTERESTS WILL KEEP US ON A PARALLEL COURSE. BUT THE METHODS AND THE DETAILS I THINK ARE BOUND TO BE MYSTERIOUS."

ANNCR:

THE SENATE MAJORITY LEADER, DEMOCRAT MIKE MANSFIELD, SAID HE EXPECTS CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE PRETTY MUCH AS THEY ARE, AND HE DOES NOT LOOK FOR GREAT CHANGE IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. HE SAID THE MAIN QUESTION ABOUT CHINESE LEADERSHIP IS WHETHER CHAIRMAN MAO WILL BE SUCCEEDED BY A SINGLE PERSON OR BY A FORM OF JOINT LEADERSHIP. AS FOR NEW MOVES IN SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS, SENATOR MANSFIELD NOTED THAT THE QUESTION OF AMERICAN LEADERSHIP IS ALSO RELEVANT:

TAPE: CUT TWO -- MANSFIELD

"WELL NOTHING WILL BE DONE AT THE MOMENT. FOR ONE THING, THERE'S AN ELECTION TO CONTEND WITH, AND WHAT WILL HAPPEN AFTER THE ELECTION REMAINS TO BE SEEN. AFTER ALL, IT IS AN UNDERTAKING WHICH WAS BEGUN BY THE FORMER CHIEF EXECUTIVE, PRESIDENT NIXON, AND CARRIED FORWARD BY PRESIDENT FORD AND IT'S BEEN A SLOW PROCESS. BUT IT'S BEEN A STEADY PROCESS AND WE'LL SEE HOW IT TURNS OUT AFTER THE ELECTION."

ANNCR:

LIKE OTHER AMERICAN FIGURES, SENATOR MANSFIELD PAID TRIBUTE TO MAO TSE-TUNG AS A HEROIC FORCE IN MODERN CHINA. HE SAID THE ROOTS WHICH CHAIRMAN MAO LAID DOWN WILL CONTINUE TO FLOURISH IN NEW CHINA. A SIMILAR ASSESSMENT CAME FROM THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP IN THE SENATE -- MINORITY LEADER HUGH SCOTT.

TAPE: CUT THREE -- SCOTT

"IN THE LONG ROLE OF CHINESE HISTORY HE WILL CLEARLY GO DOWN AS ONE OF THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS OF ALL TIME, WHETHER YOU AGREE WITH HIM OR NOT, AND OF COURSE IT'S WELL KNOWN THAT WE IN AMERICA GENERALLY DO NOT. (HE WAS) A GREAT REVOLUTIONARY LEADER, ONE OF THE DYNASTIC HEADS. WHETHER HE WILL BE AS GREAT AS HSIEN SHIH HUANG TI, WHO WAS CALLED THE "GREAT UNIFIER," WHO LIVED I THINK ABOUT THE THIRD CENTURY B-C -- HE'S A MAN THEY ALL ADMIRE IN CHINA, THE GREAT UNIFIER, AND THEY COMPARED MAO TO HIM. WE WILL NOT KNOW FOR YEARS, PERHAPS, WHETHER MAO WAS THE GREAT UNIFIER. BUT I THINK HE WILL GO DOWN IN HISTORY AS A TREMENDOUSLY FORCEFUL AND HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL LEADER WHO EVOLVED A NEW BRAND OF COMMUNISM QUITE DIFFERENT FROM WHAT THEY SCORNFULLY CALL BOURGEOIS COMMUNISM, OR BOURGEOIS NON-COMMUNISM IN RUSSIA. I THINK MAO CERTAINLY HAD THE QUALITIES OF GREATNESS. HE CAUSED THE NATION TO LISTEN TO HIM, TO LOOK TO HIM, TO FOLLOW HIS TEACHINGS. (OPT) CONFUCIUS IS UNPOPULAR IN CHINA NOW, AND PERHAPS I SHOULDN'T SAY IT BUT IN A SENSE MAO WAS THE MODERN CONFUCIUS, BECAUSE THE SAME WORDS THEY USED ABOUT HIM USED TO BE USED (SAID) ABOUT CONFUCIUS: "MAO SAYS," "AS CHAIRMAN MAO TEACHES," "MAO SAYS, 'SERVE THE PEOPLE,'" AND SO ON. NOW THEY'VE GOT TO GO OUT OF (STOP USING) THE PRESENT TENSE. (END OPT) NO ONE REALLY KNOWS WHAT WILL HAPPEN, BUT I THINK IT WILL BE A GREAT STRUGGLE, AND ONLY TIPS OF THE ICEBERG WILL EMERGE FOR MONTHS TO COME.

ANNCR:

A LEADING AMERICAN CHINA SCHOLAR, PROFESSOR ROBERT BARNETT, CHARACTERIZES MAO TSE-TUNG'S INFLUENCE AS A FORCE OF MORAL AUTHORITY IN CHINA -- A FATHER IMAGE THAT WILL REMAIN DOMINANT. AS FOR THE QUESTION OF "WHAT NEXT IN PEKING?" PROFESSOR BARNETT SAID:

TAPE: CUT FOUR -- BARNETT

"I DON'T THINK ANYBODY KNOWS THE ANSWER TO THAT QUESTION. WHEN I WAS IN PEKING A LITTLE WHILE AGO, I ASKED THIS QUESTION OF COURSE. AND QUITE OFTEN I GOT THE ANSWER THAT 'WHAT LIES AHEAD IN THE NEXT YEAR IS IMPOSSIBLE TO SEE. WHAT LIES AHEAD FOR THE NEXT FIVE YEARS IS MUCH MORE EASY TO SEE.' AND BY THIS RATHER ENIGMATIC RESPONSE I GATHERED THAT THE FEELING WAS THAT THERE WAS A CONTINUITY IN THE GENERAL DEVELOPMENT AND NATIONAL GROWTH DYNAMIC OF CHINA."

ANNCR:

PROFESSOR ALAN WHITING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, WHO ONCE SERVED AS AMERICAN CONSUL GENERAL IN HONG KONG, SAYS CHINA'S CONCERNS ARE SIMILAR TO THOSE OF MANY OTHER COUNTRIES. BUT HE COMPARES THE POLITICAL PROCESS TO THE DYNAMICS OF AN EARTHQUAKE -- THE INVISIBLE MOVEMENT OF PLATES BENEATH THE EARTH'S CRUST, POLITICS THAT SEEM SUDDENLY BREAKING THROUGH WITH DRAMATIC RESULTS. ONE OF THESE FORCES, HE SAYS, IS GENERATIONAL.

TAPE: CUT FIVE -- WHITING

"THE YOUNGER GENERATION THAT WAS ACCELERATED IN ITS POWER DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION HAS RESENTED NOT HAVING FULL CONTROL, WHILE THE OLDER GENERATION HAS BEEN REHABILITATED AND RETURNED TO POWER. THE POINTS OF VIEW OF THOSE WHO FOUGHT THE REVOLUTION AND MADE NEW CHINA WHAT IT IS ARE SHARPLY DIFFERENT IN MANY WAYS FROM YOUNGER TYPES. ANOTHER SPLIT, OF COURSE, IS 'RADICAL' VERSUS 'MODERATE,' ALTHOUGH THOSE AREN'T TERRIBLY MEANINGFUL TERMS BECAUSE THE ISSUES ABOUT WHICH THEY'RE ARGUING ARE REAL ISSUES: HOW MUCH SHOULD CHINA RELY ON FOREIGN TRADE AND TECHNOLOGY FOR INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT; WHAT DOES THAT TENDENCY MEAN? HOW FAST SHOULD DEVELOPMENT GO, AND IN WHAT SECTORS, AND WHAT KIND OF CAPITAL INVESTMENT? THE SAME KINDS OF VESTED INTERESTS ARE LOCKED IN, IN THE BUREAUCRACY AND IN THE PARTY, THAT ONE WOULD FIND IN ANY OTHER GOVERNMENT. THE PROBLEM UNTIL NOW HAS BEEN THAT THE DEBATE HAS BEEN SO IDEOLOGICAL, AND MAO HAS LIVED IN BOTH CAMPS. HE SEES (_SAW) THESE CONTRADICTIONS; HE WANTS (WANTED) THE TENSIONS TO BE THERE, BUT IT'S COME CLOSE TO PARALYZING POLICY. I THINK HIS DEATH RELEASES THESE FORCES FOR SOME RESOLUTION OF THE DEBATE THAT WILL PERMIT LONGER RANGE PLANNING AND WILL GIVE AN INTERNAL SENSE OF UNITY AND CONSTANCE. IN FACT, LOOKED AT IN THAT SENSE, THERE MAY BE A REJUVENATING EFFECT."

ANNCR:

AMONG THE LIKELY CONSEQUENCES OF MAO TSE-TUNG'S DEATH, SAYS PROFESSOR WHITING, IS A FREEZE (CONTINUE THE STATUS QUO) IN SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS OVER THE QUESTION OF TAIWAN.

TAPE: CUT SIX -- WHITING

"MAO'S DEATH REMOVES THE AUTHORITY NECESSARY TO RATIFY ANY COMPROMISE FORMULA THAT MIGHT BE NEGOTIATED ON THE STATUS OF TAIWAN AND ON THE PROBLEM OF THE USE OF FORCE AGAINST TAIWAN. ON THE UNITED STATES SIDE, THERE'S OBVIOUSLY GOING TO HAVE TO BE A WAITING PERIOD TO SEE THAT A NEW LEADERSHIP IS STABLE AND CAN STAND BY ANY COMMITMENT IT MAKES ON THIS POINT. SO I THINK IN THE SHORT RUN, THIS FREEZES THE RELATIONSHIP AT THE PRESENT LEVEL."

ANNCR:

(OPT) PROFESSOR WHITING ALSO HAD A COMMENT ON PROSPECTS FOR SINO-SOVIET AFFAIRS:

TAPE: CUT SEVEN -- WHITING

"CHINA SPECIALISTS IN MOSCOW HAVE SPOKEN OPTIMISTICALLY FOR SOME TIME NOW ABOUT THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS IN THE EVENT THAT MAO DIED. NONE OF THEM, HOWEVER, THOUGHT IT WOULD COME QUICKLY, AND SOME OF THEIR ESTIMATES RANGE FROM FIVE TO TEN YEARS. OBVIOUSLY, MOSCOW WILL TRY SOME NEW BIDS TO INFLUENCE PEKING. IT MIGHT MAKE A COMPROMISE MOVE ON THE BORDER TO DEFUSE THAT LONG-SIMMERING SITUATION. MAO'S OPPONENTS, AND MANY OF HIS ASSOCIATES, PROBABLY DISAGREED WITH THE VIGOR THAT HE USED IN PUSHING THIS DISPUTE TO ITS FINAL IMPASSE. BUT, AGAIN, MANEUVERING WILL TAKE TIME. A LEADER IN PEKING WILL BE VULNERABLE IF HE MOVES TOO QUICKLY FROM MAO'S ANTI-SOVIET STAND. SO THE MANEUVERS WILL BE BEHIND THE SCENES. THEY'LL NOT BE DRAMATIC AND THEY'LL NOT BE SUDDEN. I DO THINK THAT THEY (MOSCOW) WILL EVENTUALLY IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH PEKING, STOPPING WELL SHORT OF ANY ALLIANCE OR ANY SINO-SOVIET UNITY." (END OPT)

ANNCR:

PROFESSOR WHITING'S OVERALL JUDGEMENT IS THAT CHAIRMAN MAO'S DEATH PUNCTUATES A CRITICAL TIME IN CHINA.

TAPE: CUT EIGHT -- WHITING

THERE HAS BEEN A CONJUNCTION OF EVENTS IN CHINA THIS YEAR WHICH CANNOT BUT BE PROFOUNDLY DISTURBING TO THE CHINESE AS THEY HAVE VIEWED EVENTS OVER THEIR PAST. CHOU'S DEATH, FOLLOWED BY TENG'S FALL, FOLLOWED BY EARTHQUAKES, EVEN THE TIMING OF THE DATE OF MAO'S DEATH BEING ON SEPTEMBER NINTH, DOUBLE NINE, HAS ALL SORTS OF SYMBOLIC EFFECT. AND I THINK THAT THE ANXIETY LEVEL IN CHINA MUST BE FAIRLY HIGH. THE

TAPE:
(CONT'D)

DEMONSTRATIONS IN TIEN EN MEN (SQUARE) IN APRIL, THE EVIDENCE OF SOCIAL UNREST THAT HAS COME OUT, EVEN THE BEHAVIOR OF CHINESE DIPLOMATS ABROAD -- ALL SHOWS ANXIETY IN THE SENSE OF INSECURITY. IT'S NOT THAT CHINA'S ABOUT TO CRACK AND FALL APART. IT'S THAT NO ONE HAS A SENSE OF DIRECTION, OF WHERE IT'S GOING. AND THAT'S WHY I THINK IT'S IMPORTANT TO APPRECIATE THAT INSECURITY, NOT TO EXPECT ANYTHING AND WHATEVER IS SAID, WHATEVER APPEARS, TO TREAT IT AS PART OF THIS TRANSITORY MOMENT AND LOOK TOWARD A PERIOD OF STABILITY THAT WILL FOLLOW THEREAFTER."

ANNCR:

PROFESSOR ALAN WHITING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, WINDING UP OUR PRESENTATION OF THE VIEWS OF AMERICAN SCHOLARS AND POLITICAL LEADERS AS THEY ASSESS THE IMPACT OF THE DEATH OF CHINA'S MAO TSE-TUNG.

GH/RTD/PBM